

# ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH QUESTION

ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

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WITH A MAP

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## PREFACE

THIS book is reprinted, with alterations and considerable additions, from the article on "Zionism and Anti-Semitism," which I contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, April 1902. I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the editor and to the proprietor of that periodical for the necessary permission which they have kindly conceded.

My chief object in expanding and republishing the essay has been to make an impartial survey of the Jewish question in Europe. All the books and pamphlets—and they are many—which have been written in various languages on the subject err by the common defect of narrowing the outlook. The writer in each instance sets out to prove something, and he selects his facts in order to suit his conclusion. It is natural enough that Jewish writers should seek to justify their race, and it is comprehensible at least

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that the detractors of the Jews should confine their record to evidences making for anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, the result has been that, instead of one Jewish problem, there seem to be half-a-dozen. There is the problem of the conversionist associations, with their somewhat hysterical propaganda, who profess to admire the Jewish race, and to desire above all things that it should embrace Christian dogma. There is the problem of the philosophic Radicals, who would let the Jews practise any form of religion that pleases them, as long as that form does not require the maintenance of a separate race. Then there is the Tory problem of the statisticians and economists, who avoid in their speeches calling a spade a spade, and to whom we owe a Jewish question under the name of an anti-alien movement. And there is a party of surrender among the Jews themselves, who make a glory of the title of alien by asserting their national unity.

It is obvious that, though these opinions may co-exist, they are not compatible. You cannot assimilate a population which is conspiring with the Turks for a grant of territory in Palestine. You cannot open churches for a people whom you turn back from your ports.

You cannot expect the Jews to develop their best powers peacefully, amid simultaneous shouts of "Be Christians!" "Be Aryans!" "Be Zionists!" and "Be off!"

The confusion of remedies points to an imperfect diagnosis. It is conceivable that, when the Jewish question is reconsidered in the broader aspect which I have tried to present, the need of a violent method will disappear. After all, it is a dangerous thing, however common the habit, to generalise about the Jews. Anti-Semitic literature is constantly testifying to this fact, and the Zionists, if ever their scheme came to a practical issue, would soon discover it for themselves. But if one is to generalise about the Jews, as the mere name of anti-Semitism requires, and as so frequently happens in the prejudice of ordinary life, at least let us be certain that we know who these Jews are, what they believe, on what they wait, how they have been treated, and how they have borne the test. It is only to-day that our comparative historians in the new encyclopædias have discovered—to use a stock phrase—the inevitableness of the Jewish problem in the reaction of modern Western Jewry from mediæval conditions. If the accompanying map be

consulted, it will be seen that the pressure of Jews westward is not likely to cease till the Russian Pale is broken down. And the Russian Pale will not be broken down till the Jews of Russia have succeeded, like the Jews of England before them, in asserting their right to civil and religious liberty. Liberty in Russia is non-existent; when Russia has learnt its blessing, Russian Jews will share in it. The real problem of the twentieth century is the backwardness of the nations, not the forwardness of the Jews. Meanwhile, the westernmost countries do well to protect themselves. Great Britain is bound to scrutinise her immigrants from time to time, and to see that they do not abuse her receptive capacity. But there is no escape from this circle. The solution which would make Roumanian or Russian Jewry the type and standard of Jewish life, and would drag down the Jews, say, of England, to the level of a persecuted race, betraying the record of nineteen centuries, is false, retrograde, and unpractical.

My belief in the foredoomed failure of neo-Zionism, my objection to its leaders' readiness to "make capital," in Mr Zangwill's words, of the "longing for Palestine" (as if to say that

the name of Isaiah has been added to the directorate of Zion, Limited), and my conviction that neither Turkey nor the Great Powers would ever seriously consider the project, are independent of my admiration for Dr Theodor Herzl himself. I venture to take this opportunity of enrolling myself among his admirers, not at all because I conceive that he will be otherwise than indifferent to my sentiment, but because, among many kind things which were said of my *Quarterly* article, I was blamed in certain quarters for "attacking" the author of "The Jewish State" and President of the Zionist Congress. The attack on the scheme must stand for what it is worth, but there is nothing personal in its intention. I have twice had the pleasure of meeting Dr Herzl; once, in Vienna, in 1896, and again, in London, this year. On each occasion he has allowed me to express my disagreement from his views, and on each, and especially on the second, I have been deeply sensible of the single-mindedness, the devotion, and the sincerity which inspire the leader of this hope. He does, I believe, more harm than good, but the conclusion of the matter lies on the knees of the gods.

In preparing this little book for the Press,

## PREFACE

I have had the advantage of the help of the Rev. Isidore Harris, M.A., editor of the "Jewish Year Book," in reading the proofs and compiling the bibliography, and I am further indebted to other friends and correspondents for assistance and advice. If the book does something to promote the cause of Jewish progress and reform, which the writer has sincerely at heart, his purpose will be thoroughly fulfilled, and his debt to those who have helped him will be discharged.

LONDON, *September 1902.*

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# ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH QUESTION

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM AND SOME SOLUTIONS

IN the long annals of Israel the calendar is marked with red days and with black. Reddest of the red, for instance, is the glorious Fifteenth of Nissan—the spring festival of liberty—the day of the Redemption from Egypt by the hand of Moses the Deliverer. This, the earliest feast of freedom, is still religiously celebrated by the Jews with the fine old hymn of liberation :

“I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. . . . The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.”

A black day is the fateful Ninth of Ab (corresponding to a date in August), which the Jews observe as the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, chief of the guard to Nebuchadnezzar. The fast appointed for this date is

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no longer, we believe, universal in Israel, though the Jew repeats the words of Jeremiah:

“Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? . . . For death is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.”

But the nearness of the white fast in Tishri (in September or October), which is literally kept as a solemn day of fasting and atonement at the end of the penitential season, and before the week of rejoicing, has detracted a little from the severity of the ordinance for the fast of Ab. Still, it is marked with black in that curiously complicated calendar, with its sacred new year and its civil new year, its Greek astronomy and Babylonian nomenclature, its refinements of Rabbinical law, unaffrighted by Copernican astronomy, and its wonderful procession of feast-days and fast-days—Simchat Torah, Hanukah, Purim, Sebuyot—names that have been music in the ears of countless generations of Israelites, in Zion and in exile, and that come home to them to-day—come verily to their homes—with so intimate a thrill.

Time has added to the record. February the 4th, for instance, is marked in the calendar of English Jews as Resettlement Day—the supposed anniversary of Cromwell’s

repeal of the prohibition in 1655; and two hundred years later we come to July the 26th, 1858, when Baron Rothschild took his seat in the House of Commons. It had required nearly six centuries for this victory of tolerance after the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. But the mediæval additions to the Jewish calendar consist, for the most part, of days marked with black. The index to Graetz, in the last volume of his "History of the Jews," is eloquent at this point. There are twenty references to Jewish expulsions from European countries, ranging from the eleventh century right down to the eighteenth; and besides these, there is the black list of Jewish massacre and persecution: "Jews massacred in Alsace," "Jews massacred in Alexandria," "Jews massacred in France," "Jews massacred in Germany," four times in a hundred years, "Jews massacred in Poland," "in London," "in Norwich," "in Spain," "Jews oppressed in North Africa," "Jews persecuted in Brandenburg"—up and down the Jewish year these entries, and entries like these, commemorate in a line of cold print the unspeakable agony and suffering of the long-drawn-out Middle Ages.

Time is still adding to the record. The last day marked with black in the almanac of Israel is perhaps the blackest of all because it comes so late in his annals. At the end of the

nineteenth century, which Mr Gladstone in his hasty way described as an era of emancipation, the Jews might surely have expected that active persecution would cease, and that they would be free to devote themselves to the work of conquering and correcting the passive forces of prejudice and dislike. Yet, according to the contributor of the admirable article “Anti-Semitism” in the first volume of the new “Jewish Encyclopædia,”<sup>1</sup> the birthday of that movement and its father are both of very recent memory. There was a dissolution of the German Imperial Diet in the late summer of 1878, shortly after Hödel’s attempt on the life of the old Emperor William. This event was represented as the work of Socialists, and Socialism is notoriously atheistic. The Social Democrats of the Fatherland are the leaders of the revolt against conventional religion. Here, then, the party wire-pullers found a unique opportunity. The general election of July the 30th, 1878, brought an increase of Conservative members; and “this,” continues the writer of the article, “may be considered the birthday of anti-Semitism.” Later on in the same paragraph we learn that Adolf Stöcker, the Court chaplain, was the author of the cry. The Emperor has since had good cause to rid himself of this

<sup>1</sup> New York : Funk & Wagnal.

turbulent priest. Stöcker has been unfrocked, and the broadcloth Socialism, which his preachments established, is no longer an engine of much political force. But the mischief was done. Stöcker's influence went to found the party of Christian Socialists, which was to "win the masses of the people to the Conservative programme" by a judicious admixture of socialistic ingredients.

Or take the similar account of the matter from the first supplementary volume to the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" :—

"Anti-Semitism," declares the writer, "is, then, exclusively a question of European politics, and its origin is to be found not in the long struggle between Europe and Asia, or between the Church and the Synagogue, which filled so much of ancient and medieval history, but in the social conditions resulting from the emancipation of the Jews in the middle of the 19th century. . . . Towards the end of 1879 it spread with sudden fury over the whole of Germany. This outburst, at a moment when no new financial scandals or other illustrations of Semitic demoralisation and domination were before the public, has never been fully explained. It is impossible to doubt, however, that the secret springs of the new agitation were more or less directly supplied by Prince Bismarck himself. . . . He began to recognise in anti-Semitism a means of 'dishing' the Judaized liberals, and to his creatures who assisted him in his press campaigns he dropped significant hints in this sense (*Busch, Bismarck*, ii. 453-54; iii. 16).

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He even spoke of a new *Kulturkampf* against the Jews (*ibid.*, ii. p. 484). How these hints were acted upon has not been revealed, but it is sufficiently instructive to note that the final breach with the National Liberals took place in July, 1879, and that it was immediately followed by a violent revival of the anti-Semitic agitation. . . . In October an anti-Semitic league was founded in Berlin and Dresden. . . . The leadership of the agitation was now definitely assumed by a man who combined with social influence, oratorical power, and inexhaustible energy, a definite scheme of social regeneration and an organisation for carrying it out. This man was Adolf Stoecker (born 1835), one of the Court Preachers. . . . The Conservatives supported him, partly to satisfy their old grudges against the Liberal *bourgeoisie*, and partly because Christian Socialism, with its anti-Semitic appeal to ignorant prejudice, was likely to weaken the hold of the Social Democrats on the lower classes."

To the black days, accordingly, in the memorial calendar of Israel, July the 30th, 1878, is now indelibly added. Twenty years earlier, almost to a day, Baron Rothschild, as we have seen, had taken his seat in the British House of Commons, thus ending, for England at least, the long history of religious disability. And now the interminable cycle was renewed: anti-Semitism was born in Germany. We may minimise the movement as we will, and carefully discriminate between anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism, between Stöcker's propaganda of

Christian Socialism, involving a boycott of financiers, and Torquemada's programme of Christianisation, involving the burning of heretics; yet the fact remains that at the opening of the twentieth century, as at the opening of the sixteenth, there is antagonism towards the Jews, varying locally in its degree of intensity, from the active, legislative persecution in Roumania, to the Commission on Alien Immigration, demanded by the conditions in this country. From the extreme south-east to the extreme north-west of Europe, the path of religious liberty is crossed by that shadow. In the careful words of the editor of "The Jewish Year Book":

"The dawn of the twentieth century finds the Jews in many countries groaning under disabilities . . . which seem to mock at all ideas of human progress. As one reads of them, one almost fancies that time must have moved backward instead of forward. . . . For the unpleasant truth is forced upon us that a large portion of Europe is still plunged in the darkness of the Middle Ages."

Why is this? Why are the Jews, who still worship the God of their fathers, subject to this terrible fate? Why, when they have been released from their religious ghetto, are they thrust back into a ghetto of racial segregation? Why, when they have hardly relaxed the rigour of their fast for Zion, are synagogues fired to-day

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by riotous crowds in Germany, Algeria, and elsewhere? Why, when they still observe the day of emancipation from Pharaoh, has a new Moses arisen with the same promise as of old, to lead them out of the house of bondage into a land flowing with milk and honey, as in the new Zionism, with Dr Herzl as its prophet?

The authorities lend us scant aid in answering these questions. The non-Jewish writers on the subject, whose books we have examined for the purpose, seem to lack both breadth and precision of view. Three such books lie before us. Something, doubtless, must be allowed for the apostolic preoccupation of Mr Baron, author of "The Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew,"<sup>1</sup> who unctuously commends his volume, "the result of spare moments saved in a very busy life of service for Christ among His own nation, to Him who condescends to bless the things that are weak and small," and who writes that the Jewish question "is fast becoming an international one." "To the Bible student," he avers, "with the key of the future in his hand, it is very interesting to watch some of the more recent phases in the development of this question," and to observe how "the great God is, in His providence, now rapidly preparing the way for its final and only possible solution." What

<sup>1</sup> Hodder & Stoughton, 1900.

this solution is to be explained with chorybantic touches on page 179:—

“Jesus is the Way: ‘No man cometh to the Father but by Me.’ There is no other way. Jesus is *the Truth*, the full and whole truth of God: ‘The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.’ And Jesus is *Life*: ‘This is life eternal that they might know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.’ Although the Jews have the law, they cannot come to God, because Jesus is the Way. Although they have the Old Testament, they do not know the truth, because Jesus is *the Truth and Life!* Until we come to see Jesus, until we come to the atonement He made for us, until we come to know the ‘Lamb of God,’ we do not know God the Father. Yes, there are sighs; there are misgivings; there are fears; there are mournings; there are longings in the human heart towards God—but adoption and true spiritual life there is none, where Christ has not kindled it. *Israel in its present state, the Christless Israel, shows this to the whole world.* Notwithstanding the great activity and energy of the religious life of the Jews, they have—we say it with great sorrow—no life indeed—what they have is all carnal—and this accounts for the phenomena that they have not been of much spiritual use to the world since Christ’s coming. *In Christ alone will Israel live again and be a blessing to the world.*”

The “final and only possible solution” is postponed, it will be observed, to a somewhat indefinite date, and, leaving Mr Baron on his

watch-tower, we turn for counsel to Mr Arnold White. It was his lofty purpose, he tells us, in publishing "The Modern Jew,"<sup>1</sup> "to make the people of England think." They are to think to the following effect:—

"England," he writes, "is in this dilemma: she is either compelled to abandon her secular practice of complacent acceptance of every human being choosing to settle on these shores, or to face the certainty of the Jews becoming stronger, richer, and vastly more numerous; with the corresponding certainty of the Press being captured as it has been captured on the Continent, and the national life stifled by the substitution of material aims for those which, however faultily, have formed the unselfish and imperial objects of the Englishmen who have made the Empire. . . . The conclusion, therefore, seems obvious, that either the situation must be dealt with, *i.e.* by Europe as a whole, or an alarming outbreak against the race, the members of which are always in exile and strangers in the land of their adoption, will result, and the clock of civilisation will thus be thrown back for a hundred years. . . . The Jewish question, however difficult, is not insoluble."

Here, again, a solution is held possible, and at a date not quite as remote as that selected by Mr Baron. But Mr White reaches his conclusion through a series of premisses which cannot be accepted without demur. The contingencies which he states as certainties, by

<sup>1</sup> Heineman & Co., 1899.

a common rhetorical device, are, if not fallacious, at least open to argument. Will Jews become "stronger, richer, and vastly more numerous"? Have they "captured the Press on the Continent"? Is the British Press likely to be captured? Do Jews "stifle national life" by introducing "material aims"? And were "the Englishmen who have made the Empire" moved by "unselfish and imperial objects"? Mr White himself, in another journalistic capacity, has something different to say at this point. And all these points, it is to be noted, when it comes to an attack on the Jews, are chosen as unassailable first truths.

Next, we pass from the special pleader to a book vouched for by the Toynbee Hall mark. Mr James Bryce, who contributes the preface to "*The Jew in London*,"<sup>1</sup> states that one of its authors, "though fair and even friendly, has no special personal ground of sympathy with the Jewish race or religion," and that the other, though a Jew, is "sufficiently detached and independent to perceive the defects of his nation [race ?], and sufficiently candid to admit these defects." And the

<sup>1</sup> "*The Jew in London : A Study of Racial Character and Present-day Conditions*. Being two essays prepared for the Toynbee trustees by C. Russell, B.A., and H. S. Lewis, M.A., with an Introduction by Canon Barnett, and a Preface by the Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P. With a new Map by Geo. E. Arkell." Fisher Unwin, 1900.

claim to impartiality, which Mr Bryce advances for the volume, is repeated by Canon Barnett, who states in his introduction that "the object of these essays is to assist their readers to a right answer, and therefore to a right policy." The reader may pray with Mr Baron, or he may curse with Mr White; to what emotional or intellectual exercise, we wonder, do the Toynbee essayists invite him, in the solution of the Jewish question and the discovery of the "right answer."

"The Whitechapel problem," declares Mr Russell, "turns out to be European in scope, and it is not much less bewildering in its inner complexity than in the immense range over which it spreads itself. Besides being part of a larger question, it contains a multitude of smaller ones, and opens up a field of inquiry in which racial, industrial, and religious questions are bound up with one another and refuse to be dissociated."

After this exordium, which rather takes away the breath, his conclusion reads a trifle tamely:

"There is only the choice of going forward or backward. . . . Reform and Zionism are the broad alternatives. . . . It is easy to understand the antipathy which the great body of Jews naturally feel towards the prospect of assimilation. They have too much pride of race to relish the idea of complete absorption. But (at least from the Gentile standpoint) it is no less hard to see the

justification than the practicability of a policy of continued separatism. There is doubtless a loss in every departure from historic traditions; but if these traditions have outlived their value and purpose, or even acquired a mischievous tendency, the loss may be more than counterbalanced. It is pitiful also, no doubt, to witness the decay of a religion which has gone far in many lives to transfigure, or at least to render tolerable, the harsh conditions of slum life. . . . On the whole, if the gains and losses of assimilation could be reckoned against one another, there seems little doubt on which side the balance would be found."

Starting from different points, and aiming at different goals, our authors accordingly agree that the Jewish question is international, to be solved by a concert of the Powers acting on the watchword of "Aut discere aut discedere!" The Jews are to disappear—by religious conversion, according to Mr Baron; by legislative exclusion, according to Mr White; by social assimilation, according to Mr Russell. But go they must, if England is to be saved.

## CHAPTER II

### ZIONISM AS A SOLUTION

IT is remarkable that a section of the Jews has reached the same conclusion by a different road. In the eyes of non-Jewish writers, whom we need not pursue through the viler alleys of anti-Semitism, the “problem” is that the Jews are at once too rich and too poor. In Jewish eyes, the problem is how to escape persecution. It is just twenty years ago, in September 1882, that an anonymous pamphlet (by Dr Leon Pinsker), since translated into English under the title of “Self-Emancipation,” as No. 1 of the “Jewish National Series,” laid down as a first principle of faith and practice:—

“The international Jewish question must undergo a national solution. Our national regeneration can take place, of course, only very slowly. But *we* must take the *first* step, and our successors will have to follow. . . . The national regeneration of the Jews must be initiated by a congress of Jewish notables. . . . As matters stand, the financial execution of the undertaking does not present unsurmountable difficulties.”

Thus the disappearance of the Jews was urged on themselves by themselves. To the solutions of the "international problem" offered by Mr Baron, Mr White, and Mr Russell, we have now to add that of Dr Pinsker—the solution of Zionism, or the nationalisation of the Jews.

The present leader of this movement, and President of the Zionist Congress, is Dr Theodor Herzl, whose monograph, "*A Jewish State: an Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*," has likewise been translated (David Nutt, 1896, 1s.), and has the further advantage of being fourteen years later than Dr Pinsker's.

Dr Herzl was a journalist in Vienna at the time of the Lueger municipality. He is now the accepted leader of the movement known as Zionism; and at the annual Zionist Congress this redoubtable Moses from the Press - club rekindles the prophetic fire which shone on the face of the Deliverer. His original manifesto proposed to found the Jewish State in Western Asia or South America. Since then he has selected Palestine, as being the ancient home of the Jews, and possessing a glamour to attract the ignorant victims of Continental hate. His notion apparently is that the Sultan of Turkey will sell the province to the Jews—Dr Pinsker shared this delusion—and that the European powers will guarantee

its integrity as a fifth-rate buffer State—the wildest notion, to our thinking, which an ambitious journalist has ever based on a neglect of political facts and an indifference to religious belief. For the Herzl variant of Zionism, though it successfully deludes a heterogeneous crowd of foreign enthusiasts, is an unfortunate compromise between two quite opposite ideas.

The restoration of the Jews to the land of their old independence may occur in one of two ways. It may be by the concerted act of the Governments of the countries of their dispersion, devised as a measure of self-protection against the spread of the Jews; or by the fulfilment of prophecy when the Jewish mission is complete. The first is the creed of good anti-Semites, the second of orthodox Jews. The orthodox Jew recognises a divine purpose in his exile. He is where he is for some purpose. By his mere survival and patience he is serving some divine end. He is a witness and a priest, and he may not interrupt the mission of his race to save his own poor skin. But Dr Herzl's plan makes short work of the spiritual element in the new exodus of Jewry. He would force the hand of Providence. The restoration, instead of occurring as the appointed end of the dispersion, would be interpolated in the middle of it as a means of evading its obligations. This plan, which is a travesty of Judaism, is equally futile as state-

craft. There is not the least disposition on the part of the great powers of Europe to see the wealth and talent of Israel pass into the hands of the Sultan, nor yet to see the Holy Land invaded by a crowd of Jews, still less to complicate the Eastern question by planting another weak State in that troublesome ward of invalids.

The unaccustomed meekness of the scheme is, perhaps, its most surprising feature. Isaiah said : “Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Judah, for the Lord hath comforted his people. Say unto Jerusalem, thou shalt be built ; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid.” On these passages, and passages like these, the Jews have based their faith in the Messiah, whether personal or impersonal, at whose coming the nations of Christendom will be eager to take hold of their skirts ; and the people which is permitted to look forward to so splendid a destiny as this, which keeps itself severely apart in order to be ready to fulfil it when the appointed time shall have arrived, is forgiven by all just men for the touch of racial arrogance inevitable, perhaps, to those who live in the light of such a mission. But now, contrast with Isaiah and his appeal to racial pride, the apologetic tone of Dr Herzl in defining the destiny of his race :

“The departure of the Jews,” he writes, in his introduction to the “Jewish State,” “will involve no economic disturbances, no crises, no persecutions; in fact, the countries they abandon will revive to a new period of prosperity. There will be an inner migration of Christian citizens into the positions evacuated by Jews. . . . The Jews will leave as honoured friends, and if some of them return, they will receive the same favourable welcome and treatment at the hands of civilised nations as is accorded to all foreign visitors. Their exodus will have no resemblance to a flight, for it will be a well-regulated expedition under control of public opinion.”

A flight, accordingly, which is no flight, an abandonment and an evacuation—this is the modern rendering of the Messianic hope; instead of Gentiles coming to the light, Dr Herzl offers the pretty picture of Jews content, like foreign visitors, with a “favourable welcome and treatment.” We have called this a travesty of Judaism. But it is worse than satire—it is treason. Dr Herzl and those who think with him are traitors to the history of the Jews, which they misread and misinterpret. They are themselves part-authors of the anti-Semitism which they profess to slay. For how can the European countries which the Jews propose to “abandon” justify their retention of the Jews? and why should civil equality have been won by the strenuous exertion of the Jews, if the Jews themselves are to be the first to “evacuate” their

position, and to claim the bare courtesy of "foreign visitors"? We recall, perchance, the debates in the House of Commons of 1833. Lord Macaulay, speaking in committee on behalf of the removal of disabilities, said :

"Another objection which has been made to this motion is that the Jews look forward to the coming of a great deliverer, to their return to Palestine, to the rebuilding of their temple, to the revival of their ancient worship, and that, therefore, they will always consider England, not their country, but merely as their place of exile. But surely, sir, it would be the grossest ignorance of human nature to imagine that the anticipation of an event which is to happen at some time altogether indefinite . . . can ever occupy the minds of men to such a degree as to make them regardless of what is near and present and certain. . . . Are we to exclude all millenarians from Parliament and office. . . .?"

Fourscore years, a strong man's lifetime, make a short instalment of the Millennium, but if Dr Herzl's plan for the political restoration of the Jews has to be taken into serious account, then Macaulay was wrong, and his "grossly ignorant" opponents were right in their view of human nature.

But the scheme is foredoomed to failure. Dr Herzl has traded—we know no better word—on the resources of prophecy. Zion is a magical name in the ears of the ignorant victims of Russian and Roumanian persecution; and though

Dr Herzl was indifferent at first whether he led them to Argentina or to Palestine, he quickly perceived the commercial value of keeping the name of the old firm on his prospectus. Not even Mr Zangwill, ardent Zionist though he is, can evade the logic of this conclusion. "Palestine, indeed, but an afterthought," he admits on page 395 of his "*Dreamers of the Ghetto*": "an aspiration of unsuspected strength, to be utilised —like all human forces— by the maker of history. States are the expression of souls; in any land the Jewish soul could express itself in characteristic institutions, would shake off the long oppression of the ages, and renew its youth in touch with the soil. Yet since there is this longing for Palestine, let us make capital of it—capital that will return its safe percentage." Was there ever a more cynical confession of the commercialisation of a spiritual idea? And the promoters knew their public. Poor Jews, who would have preferred the fleshpots of Egypt to the unknown terrors of South America, jumped at the sound of Jerusalem. To die in Palestine is their ambition; the restoration is their waking dream; and Dr Herzl, with ingenious effrontery, represented his scheme of evading the mission of the exiles, and their duty to the lands of their dispersion, as a fulfilment of the ancient prophecy.

The measure of success which he has achieved is that of the off-chance. "The Jews," as he himself wrote, "have dreamt this kingly dream all through the long nights of their history. 'Next year in Jerusalem' is their old phrase. Now comes the opportunity to prove that the dream may be converted into a living reality"—and to the extent of the possibility of the off-chance Dr Herzl's backers support him. He might be right. The opportunity, stated with so much skill, might be the trumpet-call to Zion; at least the ears of Ghetto Hebrews, bewildered with the cries of hate, might well be eager to accept another false prophet as the Redeemer. The mistake has been committed before, not once but many times, since the grave warning was uttered, "For they prophesy falsely unto you in My name; I have not sent them, saith the Lord." Nor, indeed, is Dr Herzl's success commensurate at all with his anticipations in 1896. Then he wrote: "I imagine that Governments will, either voluntarily or under pressure from the anti-Semites, pay certain attention to this scheme; and they may perhaps actually receive it here and there with a sympathy which they also show to the Society of the Jews." This expectation remains unfulfilled. The Western Governments have shown not the least disposition to invite an outburst of anti-Semitism by acknowledging

their Jews as strangers; and, as to the interviews with the Sultan of Turkey which Dr Herzl has enjoyed, it is already fairly certain that his Majesty has been smiling in his sleeve. But the Congress has been founded, and it is addressed each year by "impassioned rhetoricians," whose structure in the clouds is already beginning to reveal little signs of rifts and flaws. We may be permitted to quote the picturesque account of such a gathering from the reporter's pen of Mr Zangwill, who, as a friend of the movement, if called as a witness on the other side, will give evidence of supreme importance. He writes :

"As no two of the leaders are alike, so do the rank-and-file fail to resemble one another. Writers and journalists, poets and novelists and merchants, professors and men of professions—types that once sought to slough their Jewish skins and mimic, on Darwinian principles, the colours of the environment, but that now, with some tardy sense of futility or stir of pride, proclaim their brotherhood in Zion—they are come from many places; from far lands and from near; from uncouth, unknown villages of Bukowina and the Caucasus, and from the great European capitals; thickest from the pales of persecution, in rare units from the free realms of England and America—a strange phantasmagoria of faces,—"

and, it may fairly be added, a strange foundation of a State. Pole, Hungarian, Roumanian,

Frenchman, Dutchman, German, Russian, Egyptian, Swede—how shall these be welded together into a single republic, pent closely between the desert and the sea? “As an attempt to realise the ideal of Judaism,” wrote Mr Oswald John Simon in the *Nineteenth Century*, September 1898, “the programme formulated at Basle presents the spectacle of the most contemptible, if not the most grotesque, species of idealism which was ever laid before the remnant of the descendants of a great nation.”

We need not discuss the financial aspect of this matter, which reposes in the hands of the Jewish Colonial Trust, with a Council overwhelmingly composed of foreign and Oriental names. Affiliated with the Central Committee is an English Zionist Federation, of which Sir Francis Montefiore is President, and which counts more than seventy branches in England and Ireland. But the great bulk of English Jewry has rigidly kept aloof. They, at least, do not subscribe to the objects of the Federation, which are (1) the acquisition of a legally safeguarded home in Palestine for the Jewish people; (2) the fostering of the National Idea in Israel. Or, rather, they do not confuse these two wholly different aims. Legal safeguards, dependent on the goodwill of a Mohammedan prince, form a miserable realisation of a national

idea hugged through centuries of oppression and glowing with fervid imagination. The mission of Israel in exile is the measure of a larger hope than the cleverness of Dr Herzl has compassed.

## CHAPTER III

### THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE LIGHT OF JEWISH ETHICS AND HISTORY

So far, then, we have seen that the existence of the Jewish question is admitted by Jews and non-Jews alike, and that the postulate implies the phenomenon of a solidarity of Jewish interests, which may be described with Mr White as "aloofness," but which is practically satisfied by a dualism in the life of every responsible Jew. He takes his part in the business and pleasure of the land to which he belongs. But he takes a part likewise in the lot of his co-religionists all over the world. He has a double set of duties; and we cannot but conceive that he acquires a double range of sensibilities to which he equally responds. The proof of this practical religion—for it amounts to nothing less—may be read between the lines of the "Jewish Year Book." Thus, in the list of Jewish charities printed there, we find a conjoint committee of the Russo-Jewish Committee and the Jewish Board of Guardians, of which

the object is “to promote the general welfare of Russian Jews who are the victims of religious persecution in their own country”; and, again, in the list of representative institutions, we find an Anglo-Jewish Association, founded in 1871, and directed by the leaders of the community, the objects of which are defined as “(a) the protection of persecuted Jews; (b) the education of Jewish children in Eastern countries.” Moreover, the Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, which dates from 1760, co-operates with the Anglo-Jewish Association “in any action in which the intervention of the Foreign Office may be desirable”; and it was engaged in 1901-2, among other important matters, with the supervision of the Morocco Relief Fund, the position of Roumanian Jews, and the issue of a report on alien immigration. At several points, accordingly, the claims of Jewry beyond the seas have an open road to the sympathy of the Jews in this country. Just as the Lord Mayor of London may have to open a Fund for the relief of a British colony beyond the seas, so the Jewish community in this country responds to the calls of its kinsmen in distant parts of the world. How far precisely the Jew—the English Jew, let us say, whose liberty is absolutely untrammelled—finds his two sets of duties always and wholly compatible we cannot accurately say. It is conceivable, to take a

concrete instance, that he subscribes more heartily to an Anglo-Jewish Fund for the relief of his oppressed kinsmen in Roumania than to a Mansion House Fund for his starving fellow-subjects in India, and circumstances can be imagined in which his attitude towards Anglo-Russian politics would be complicated by his resentment at Russia's persecution of the Jews. But the point is that he accepts the double burden, and cheerfully discharges both dues, regarding each as an Imperial claim. For the modern Jew may turn away with a smile from an adversary like Mr Arnold White, who apprehends that the presence of Jews in England will stifle the national life "by the substitution of material aims for those which, however faultily, have formed the unselfish and imperial objects of the Englishmen who have made the empire." The British Empire was made many centuries too late to teach the Jews unselfishness or Imperialism. Mr White does not know his modern Jew. "For successive generations," he tells us, the Jews "are tied to alien communities of their own race and faith in other lands by closer bonds than any that unite them to the country of their adoption." The tail of this sentence has a sting which we believe to be unjust, even in reference to Zionists; but surely the first part contradicts Mr White's own conception of a Jew. The

*cui bono* argument refutes it. What has the English Jew to gain by keeping up this imperial tie with members of his race in other lands? Or is this unselfish sense of responsibility to the claims of a common race and creed the expression of the “material aims” which Mr White apprehends will corrupt the unselfish imperial Briton?

In the war which has recently been concluded, the Jews were fighting side by side with their British fellow-countrymen for the rights of the stranger in the Transvaal. One cannot but think that the quarrel came easier to them than to some others. They were fulfilling, not merely an obligation of citizenship, but a religious duty as well. Rarely since Old Testament times have these duties been united so closely. In Numbers xv. 15 the Jews are told: “One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.” In Leviticus xxiv. 22—“Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God”—the statute is put upon a religious foundation; while in Deuteronomy x. 19—“Love ye therefore the

stranger : for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt"—the precept of civil and religious equality is based on the strongest appeal to historical tradition.

The Whites and Russells, who are bewildered by the "inner complexity" and the immense range of the Jewish question, should go back to the origin of Israel and trace his gradual descent. There they might find, to their discomfiture, that the Jew who practises his faith, so far from threatening England with the poly-syllabic evils of the political economist's vocabulary, is trained in the principles for which alone the empire is worth preserving ; and that, rather than persuade the Jew to intermarry and apostatise, they should exert every effort to induce him by kindness—as in the past by hatred—to maintain the tenets of his religion, and to use them, after centuries of repression, for their original purposes of State.

We have seen that four separate solutions have been proposed for the Jewish problem, with the one feature in common that they mend the Jews of Europe by ending them. A policy of international suppression has been worked out in both camps. Mr Baron would convert the Jews, Mr Russell would absorb them, Mr White would exclude them, and Dr Herzl would lead them out. We believe that each of these four solutions is wrong. They err by their common

neglect of the basis of the Jewish question in Jewish ethics and history. Character is ethics modified by history ; and no racial or national policy can succeed which works without reference to character. If the Jew is an exile in the land of his birth, a stranger in the country of his allegiance, as the anti-Semites and the Zionists reiterate, the fault is not his, but theirs. It was Bismarck, we believe, who said, "Every country has the Jews it deserves." The Jew is largely what the Christian has made him. Before his God there are no strangers ; and, into whatever language of political or economic science this old religious maxim be translated, it is yet a maxim which should make us pause before we persecute the Jew for practising the principles of Moses.

Thus we begin to pass from the heated controversies of those who would "solve" the Jewish question out of hand into the serener region of the ethics of Judaism, a treatise on which, by Professor Lazarus of Berlin, is before us in its American dress. Mr Arnold White assures us that the quality which he terms "aloofness" "is at the root of everything to which the nations of Christendom can legitimately object"; and he bases that quality of the Jews on a combination of "the pride of race, the teachings of the Talmud, and the consciousness of consecration to the mission

with which they have been entrusted." Mr White's argument in this passage is so curious that we venture to quote it at length. He divides the Jews of England "naturally into four classes":—

"First, there is the Jewish aristocracy, a type unrepresented in America or in Russia. Patrician Jews differ from their Christian peers mostly by more strenuous and uniform patriotism, by more systematic and larger benevolence. . . . Invitations to the great Jewish houses are eagerly sought; to be included in their circle of friends is in itself a *cachet*; exclusion or expulsion is a social calamity. There is one feature, however, in the society encountered in Jewish palaces—one never meets a Jew unless it be an aristocrat. The connection maintained between the Hebrew patrician and his co-religionists of the *bourgeoisie* is either official or philanthropic."

Thus our authority on Anglo-Jewish sociology in connection with the first-grade Jew. We do not wish to be squeamish about the tone that he adopts, but in his exaggerated deference to the Hebrew patricians in their palaces there is at least a touch of Uriah. Moreover, as to the contact between the Jewish upper and middle classes, we fail to see Mr White's point. The *bourgeoisie* of any religion rises in the social scale precisely by the same means. It is absurd to discuss such a matter as a question of race or creed.

"The second class into which the modern Jew naturally falls differs little from the patricians except in their resolute refusal to permit their daughters to intermarry with Englishmen. The pride of race, the teachings of the Talmud, and the consciousness of consecration to the mission with which they have been entrusted, combine to maintain, in highly-educated religious Jews, the aloofness which is at the root of everything to which the nations of Christendom can legitimately object. To this class of Jews belongs the highly-educated and anglicised Hebrew, who has practically relinquished his faith without abandoning the racial characteristics of which I shall speak later on. . . . The whole of the class of which I am speaking are not only notoriously better citizens than the average Englishman, but they are sedulous in the fulfilment of their duties to their poor co-religionists."

Writing with no slight knowledge of the Jewish community in London, we confess that this description perplexes us. What is a "highly educated religious Jew . . . who has practically relinquished his faith"? How can Talmudic lore and missionary zeal operate in the mind of an apostate? Why, if Mr White believes his own conclusion, as to the superior citizenship of the Jews, should he seek to destroy the means by which this class has been developed? And who constitutes Mr White the apologist of Christendom? We omit his third and fourth classes, simply because he seems to think that

the benevolent patrician and the highly-educated *bourgeois* "growed," like Topsy, in their palaces and homes. That all English Jews were once immigrants, and that the immigrants of to-day may be the aristocrats of to-morrow, dispensers of the "*cachet*" and of the "calamity" in Mr Arnold White's social scheme, is a sociological truism which escapes his attention. But taking the critic's "legitimate objection" in the form in which he defines it, and remembering Mr White's part in the work of the Alien Immigration Commission, we must examine this quality of "aloofness." There will be little difficulty in showing that the argument is rooted in ignorance, and grafted on an historical fallacy.

We fail to find this "aloofness" in the origins of Israel; and, if the quality is acquired, it is worth while to ask why and when. Judaism, ancient and modern, is a system with the seeds of universalism. This is the first point to note. The system is kept up through the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Talmud with unremitting force. We have quoted part of the evidence for the civil and religious equality of the stranger in the Mosaic code. There was no "aloofness" in that conception. Not even privileges of blood were efficacious against the golden rule: "And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto the Lord; according to

the ordinance of the passover, and according to the manner thereof, so shall he do : ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land." Thus the author of the Book of Numbers, to which we have referred above. The idolatrous and immoral practices of the neighbours of the Jews dictated a foreign policy of the protectionist type ; but, as Renan remarks, the idea of the Jewish religion "is universal to the last degree" ; and Professor Lazarus acutely adds, "Israel had to be particularistic in order to formulate and hold up the universal ideal."

Even in his joys he shared alike. "Thou shalt rejoice," says the author of Deuteronomy, "in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee . . . thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you." In the reconstruction of the fallen fortunes of Israel in the prophetical writings, this idea was more strongly insisted on. Jeremiah was ordained "a prophet unto the nations" ; and the new covenant was built, not merely on a national basis, but in the inward parts and in the heart, thus founding the ethical sanction on the common nature of man. God's house, said the second Isaiah, addressing the sons of the stranger, "shall be called an house of prayer for all people" ; and the non-Jew was not to say, "The Lord hath utterly separated me from

His people." For "from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before Me, saith the Lord." Passages like these were taken up by the Rabbis of the Talmud to prove that a man's ideal worth, according to Jewish ethics, is independent of race or creed; that Israel's election is not confined to inheritors of Hebrew blood; that "religious observances, the Temple, the sacrificial service, are not indispensable conditions. . . . Moral purity and a loving heart are the only requirements." As Professor Lazarus quotes from the "Megillah," "Whoever rejects idolatry is called Yehudi" (*i.e.* Jew). "In moral questions," says another passage, "the Jew and the non-Jew stand under the same law." And if, to revert to the Prophets, a single example be asked of the application of the universal rule, take Ezekiel's scheme for the distribution of land in the future Jewish State, which reflects a condition of civilisation unique in ancient history:—

"And it shall come to pass, that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you: and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that in what tribe the

stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." (Ezekiel xlvii. 22, 23.)

The Jews, we must remember, were in the majority, and could have imposed restrictions on property which even modern standards might conceivably condone. But the Jewish codes, as Dollinger notes, "were more favourable to strangers than those of any other people." Professor Lazarus adds, "Whenever the law makes provision for the poor"—and the Jewish poor law, from Moses to the London Board of Guardians, is supreme of its kind—"it includes the stranger."

## I

So much in this place, though the theme might well be amplified, on the allegation of Jewish "aloofness"—an allegation which betrays complete ignorance of the elementary principles of Judaism. The Jew who lives up to his own principles, the Jew who is permitted to be free, is not in any sense likely to corrupt the "unselfish and imperial Briton." On the contrary, his ethical code, which he asks leave to practise, is based on those virtues. Unselfishness and imperialism are its corner-stones, and upon them is erected that

structure of civic excellence to which Mr Arnold White pays such ready homage. But Israel, the lawgiver to ideal commonwealths, ceased at an early age to be a polity ; and we pass at this point to the historical aspect of the race, and to the development of its character and the modification of its ideals under the stress of exile and persecution. The Jews were never in doubt as to their abstract duty towards the land that entertained them. Allegiance might prove difficult in practice, but Jeremiah had clearly provided for the contingency of dispersion ; and his precepts have a binding force.

“Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives, whom I have caused to be carried away from Jerusalem unto Babylon ; build ye houses, and dwell in them : and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them ; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters ; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters ; that ye may be increased there, and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it ; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.” (Jeremiah xxix. 4-7).

In other words, Israel in exile was to identify himself with the country where he made his home and founded his family ; and he might well have expected that his own humane atti-

tude towards strangers would be reflected on himself as a stranger. The teachers of national hospitality, though debarred by destiny from its exercise, might hope to enjoy its reciprocal benefit. We bring no reproach against "the nations of Christendom" for whom Mr White claims the merit of a legitimate objection to the "aloofness" of the Jews; but surely the fault of Israel is to be condoned if disillusion and disappointment have sharpened his self-protecting faculties, and engendered those traits of obsequiousness, self-seeking, and want of patriotism which are now laid to his charge as natural, not acquired characteristics. The habits may have become a second nature; but Israel recovers so quickly under kindly treatment that one should hesitate to say that his nature is permanently warped.

We are considering how the nation, whose Lawgiver and Prophets contemplated an independent State, has emerged from a long period of suppression. We shall not omit the defects that have been engendered; the most that we shall propose in that direction is to review them in the perspective of their causes. But before we enumerate Israel's faults, we may obey the teaching of the parable and look first for the beauties of the ghetto. The Jews did not choose to live there: if experience of its rigours has embittered them to some

extent; if they have deteriorated a little from the standard of their own prophetic writings, we should rather be surprised that the Jew who emerges from the ghetto after many generations preserves so much of the excellence of the days before religious persecution, and that, if some evil characteristics have been acquired, there are also further good and fair ones to be accounted to his credit.

In all the passive virtues, at least, and in some of the active, he has passed triumphantly through the fire. He has learnt a thousand times over the hard lesson of Meribah. Thrown back against his will on himself, without the stimulus of friction, he has turned with an increased sense of rest to the duties of family life, irradiated in all its parts, even to the scouring of a dish, with the light of personal service. Music has been for the Jew a peculiar comfort and resource, and in that art, as on the stage, the world is the richer for Hebrew talent. Often, too, he has been "cradled into poetry by wrong"; for up and down the pages of Jewish history the names occur of singers who, like Heine, a Jewish prince of minstrelsy, have turned their suffering to song. The Talmud is a great work, an unplumbed sea of many treasures; but its contents by no means exhaust, as seems to be popularly supposed, the contribution of Israel

to literature. Above the crowd of poets and poetasters who made the literary glory of Spain rises the name of Jehudah Halevi, of whom Graetz has justly said: "If ever Spain could be brought to lay aside its prejudices, and to desist from estimating its great men of history by the standard of the Church, Jehudah Halevi would occupy a place of honour in its Pantheon."

Seven centuries stretch between Halevi and Heine, but we mention them together because the German Jew in Paris was himself so keen an admirer of the Spanish Jew in long-ago Castile.

"Ah ! he was the greatest poet,  
Torch and starlight to his age,  
Beacon light to his people ;  
Such a mighty and a wondrous  
Pillar of poetic fire  
Led the caravan of sorrow  
Of his people Israel  
Thro' the desert of their exile."

Thus Heine of Halevi, and the race to which both poets belonged, by sympathy as well as blood, might well do more to popularise the great Hebrew melodies of the Middle Ages. It is the language difficulty which is supreme, and it recurs again, centuries later (for the genius of the race is immortal) in another branch of literature—racy, vernacular, and peculiarly Jewish—which has sprung up like a flower

in the walls of modern European ghettos. Wit and melancholy, self-ridicule and self-pity, and withal the unconscious universal element of poetry which the "sweet singer" bequeathed to his people—all these are found in the pages of "The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century," compiled by Professor Leo Wiener, of Harvard, himself a type of Hebrew elasticity, having risen from hawking oranges in the streets to holding a chair at the university. Here is a unique testimonial to the resources of Israel in exile. Here are the undesirable aliens of the Bill which economic alarmists are anxious to force on the Government, composing literary monuments in a language entirely their own, a speech-mixture or jargon which no one knows how to spell. We can only give one example from Professor Wiener's "chrestomathy"—some stanzas from "The Rejoicing of the Law," which show that the liquid voices which Ezra first trained for his choirs are still raised in praise and prayer to the God of Zion and the wilderness:—

"Zweitausend Jahr, a Kleinigkeit zu sagen !  
Zweitausend Jahr gemattert, geschlagen !  
Sieben un' siebezig finstere Dores  
Gestoppt mit Zores, gefüllt mit Gseeres !  
As ich wollt' nehmen derzaehlen jede Gseere,  
Wollt' heunt nit gewe'n Ssimchas-Tore !  
Nor das darf ich gar nit, es is sehr gut  
Bei Jedem eingeschrieben in sein March, in sein Blut.

Mir haben All's ausgehalten, All's aweggegeben,  
 Unser Geld, unser Kowed, unser Gesund, un' Leben,  
 Wie a Mal Chane ihre Kinder, die sieben—  
 Far die heilige Tore, auf Parmet geschrieben.

“Un' itzt? Is' schon besser? Last män uns zufrieden?  
 Hat män schon a Mal derkennt, as mir Jüden  
 Senen auch Menschen aso wie die Andern?  
 Wellen mir nit mehr in der Welt arumwandern?  
 Wet män sich auf uns mehr nit beklagen?  
 Das weiss ich nit, das kann ich euch nit sagen,  
 Eins weiss ich, es lebt noch der alter Gott oben,  
 Die alte Tore unten, un' der alter Gläuben;  
 Drum sorgt nit un' hofft auf Gott dem lieben  
 Un' auf die heilige Tore, auf Parmet geschrieben.”

Dr Wiener's prose version of these stanzas runs as follows :—

“Two thousand years, no small matter that! Two thousand years of torture and vexation! Seventy-seven gloomy generations surfeited with sorrows, filled with misfortunes! Were I to begin to tell all the persecutions, we should not have the Rejoicing of the Law to-day; but I need not do that, it is too well written in each man's marrow, in his blood. We have suffered all, given away all—our money, our honour, our health, our lives, as Hannah once her seven children—for the holy Law written upon parchment.

“And now? Is it better? Do they leave us in peace? Have they come to recognise that we Jews are also men like all others? Shall we no longer wander about in the world? Will they no longer complain of us? That I do not know, that I cannot tell you. Thus much I know; there still lives the old God

above, the old Law below, and the old faith ; therefore do not worry, and hope in the kind Lord and in the holy Law written upon parchment.”<sup>1</sup>

From Halevi to the ghetto poets of to-day Hebrew has been the mother tongue of Israel, and its use is perhaps responsible for the neglect of Jewish men of letters. But many of them have written in the languages of the countries where they happened to reside. Miss Emma Lazarus, Mrs Henry Lucas, Miss Nina Davis, and the late Amy Levy, are among recent writers of Jewish race who have enriched English literature with poetry of no slight merit. And it would be hard, in modern patriotic song, to find genuine patriotism and poetic feeling better combined than in the verses entitled “The Jewish Soldier,” which Mrs Lucas published in the dark time of the recent war :—

“Mother England, Mother England, 'mid the thousands  
Far beyond the sea to-day,  
Doing battle for thy honour, for thy glory,  
Is there place for us, a little band of brothers ?  
England, say !

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<sup>1</sup> Except for the occasional pure or corrupt Hebraisms (Dores, Gseere, Ssimchas-Tore), the language in these verses, it will be seen, is quite as near to the German of Hanover or Berlin as is the dialect of Silesia, for example, as reproduced by Gerhart Hauptmann in his plays. The despised jargon is a literary language.

“Thou hast given us home and freedom, Mother England,  
Thou hast let us live again,  
Free and fearless, 'midst thy free and fearless children,  
Sharing with them, as one people, grief and gladness,  
Joy and pain.

“Now we Jews, we English Jews, O Mother England,  
Ask another boon of thee :  
Let us share with them the danger and the glory ;  
Where thy best and bravest lead, there let us follow,  
O'er the sea !

“For the Jew has heart and hand, O Mother England,  
And they both are thine to-day—  
Thine for life and thine for death, yea, thine for ever !  
Wilt thou take them as we give them, freely, gladly ?  
England, say !”

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENT CONDITIONS

THE verses quoted from Mrs Henry Lucas at the close of the last chapter supply us with a fresh starting-point in our examination of the Jewish question. They state the reciprocal side of the Jewish question :

“ Wilt thou take them as we give them, freely, gladly ?  
England, say ! ”

It is the tragedy of Israel that the inhospitality of the nations has been accounted to him for a sin, and that he who knows the heart of a stranger should be charged with the crime of exclusiveness. Liberty, equality, fraternity—this cry is the breath of Jewish life. The ghetto walls were built round them, and the Jews pushed them down; painfully, slowly, brick by brick, mulcted of a blood-sacrifice at every stage of their labours, the Jews destroyed the ghetto which their Christian hosts had

built round them. This is the historical fact ; and is it strange if the Jews should find it hard to forgive the attitude of anti-Semites, who speak as if the ghettos had been raised by Jewish hands and pulled down by the force of Christian principles ? Here, at least in our opinion, is the whole miserable fallacy on which the fabric of anti-Semitism is erected. The Jews are charged with “aloofness” and exclusiveness, with forming a state within a state, when it is they who teach the doctrines of liberty and hospitality to the followers of Christ and His disciples. Take their story in England, for example. The English are Christians living in a free country ; but neither the Christian nor the liberal idea availed to remove the religious disability which oppressed our Jewish fellow-countrymen through a third of Queen Victoria’s reign. If we enjoy to-day the high blessing of religious equality, if the “*Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discriminis agetur*” has become an accepted principle of British public life, if England alone almost among the nations has held up the standard of liberty during the last generation, it is partly to the Jews that she owes it—to men like Moses Montefiore, David Salomons, and Lionel Rothschild—who, at considerable personal sacrifice, and not for personal aggrandisement, thrust the standard of liberty into the reluctant hands of

British Conservatives, and inspired them with the all-embracing ideal of civic rights for which they fought in South Africa.

"The ghetto," says the writer in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "which had been designed as a sort of quarantine to safeguard Christendom against the Jewish heresy, had in fact proved a storage chamber for a portion of the political and social forces which were destined to sweep away the last traces of feudalism from central Europe."

This is the historical view, and it contains a deep lesson for the future. Russia, Roumania, and other countries are far more backward in their appreciation of the blessings of liberty than was England twoscore years ago. First one, then another of these countries sets the tide of immigration flowing westwards. The Jewish question, like the British Empire, cannot be controlled by Little Englanders. Those who attempt to measure it by an exclusively English standard fall into the hopeless confusion of a critic like Mr Arnold White. First, they forget that every English Jew descends from an alien immigrant. They write in the most glowing terms of the superior civic virtue of the English Jew near the top of the scale, and of the contribution which he makes to the strength of our body politic; and then they demand that a Royal Commission shall

be appointed to arrest the immigration of "aliens." Speaking with a sense of moral obligation, we object to this course on two grounds: First, it repeats the mediæval crime of penning the Jews into ghettos, and then jeering at their ghetto-bred characteristics—laying the badge of suffering upon them, and then objecting to the mark it leaves behind;<sup>1</sup> and secondly, this exclusive policy is unfair to English Jews, and is likely, as Dr Herzl has pointed out, not merely in his evidence before the Commission, to drive them to seek in a new State that freedom to be free, which is the most sacred tradition of Jewish history and ethics. The Zionists see in this agitation propaganda for their desperate cause. If economic conditions tend to anti-Semitism in England, where at last the Jews had won—and nobly won—the right not to be "aloof," verily, Israel must abandon the mission of his exile. But the Little Englisher attempt to solve the Jewish question in relation to this country alone has a last and a fatal defect. No conceivable legislation will prevent the infiltration of foreigners into this country. Our island position forbids it. To the economic alarmists who urge an Act of Exclusion, we

<sup>1</sup> "The aloofness, which is at the root of everything to which the nations of Christendom can legitimately object."—Arnold White, "The Modern Jew," p. 6.

reply, "Produce your Bill." In this island of many ports, and of constant passenger traffic, such a law would be so expensive and so cumbersome as to defeat its own ends. We may not comment on the evidence which the Commission now sitting has already heard; but we may shrewdly surmise that, when it comes to issue its Report, the majority at least will be content to recommend, as they reasonably may, a more stringent enforcement of the existing bye-law in Stepney, an amendment, perhaps, of the Housing legislation, possibly even a restriction for the more effective stoppage of diseased persons at the Port of London, but no Canute-like attempt to arrest the motion of the tide, which flows and ebbs, east and west, leaving on British shores that small deposit of aliens, by which our civic life is ultimately enriched. Putting the question at its lowest, there is no legislative barrier which that tide would not overflow.

To the student of history it is clear that what the Jews have done in England they have still to do in other countries now. To the Jews themselves, we imagine, this obligation is a religious trust; it is a part of the divinely appointed mission which they are fulfilling in exile. For non-Jews, who miss the religious sanction, the political and historical sense must take its place. A policy of retreat from that

duty—the policy of Dr Herzl and the neo-Zionists—is a policy of cowardice and despair. This seems to us, on the evidence of the facts, the reply of history to Zionism. When the religious motive is superadded, we can conceive no more complete reply to prophets of Dr Herzl's type, who counsel a surrender to illiberalism; “for they prophesy falsely unto you in My name; I have not sent them, saith the Lord.” If ever the purpose of history was written in letters that shine, it is written in the debt of England to the Jews, and in the obligation it entails on Jewish residents towards the land of their adoption.

We would not be accused of fatalism, much less of callousness or indifference, in respect to the sufferings of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. We disbelieve in heroic measures of despair, such as the several solutions that we have examined, but we thoroughly believe that some good may be effected by bringing influence to bear on the authority concerned, whether the Emperor Nicholas or King Charles, or the advisers of those monarchs. The Jewish community in England has not been idle in this respect. Taking the Roumanian problem, for example, a sheaf of pamphlets lies before us. Already, in 1872, Mr Israel Davis compiled for the Anglo-Jewish Association a “short statement” of the recent history and the then present

situation of the "Jews in Roumania." We quote a few sentences from this indictment of thirty years ago:—

"By various laws, decisions, and regulations (often in defiance of the constitution, as well as of the already violated convention) Jews were, by the year 1870, excluded from acquiring real property (even houses in towns), from the Roumanian bar, from rank in the army, educational appointments, medical posts, and the power to sell medicines. The area of employments open to them is now still more circumscribed. . . . In 1866 the era of violence began with the destruction of the synagogue at Bucharest by a mob. . . . In 1867 the Jews were violently and illegally arrested, and driven in herds to prison on the charge of vagrancy. . . . In 1869 the expulsion of the Jews from the rural districts (an idea conceived nineteen years before) was ruthlessly carried out. . . . Seven Powers—England, France, Austria, Germany, Italy, Russia, Turkey—have implicitly promised liberty and security to the Jews of Roumania. . . . And every one of the seven nations which joined in the Convention is bound to see that its promises be kept."

In 1879, when the Treaty of Berlin (1878) had been added to the Paris Convention of 1858, Dr Bluntschli, Privy Councillor, and Professor at the University of Heidelberg, published under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite, a "counsel's opinion" in the form of a pamphlet now before us, on "L'État Roumain et la Situation

légale des Juifs en Roumanie." In his preface to this exposition of the international law, the learned jurist declared :—

" L'histoire du développement général du droit européen m'a convaincu depuis longtemps, et l'étude des traités et des lois concernant la Roumanie m'a confirmé dans cette conviction, que l'égalité réclamée ne saurait être légitimement refusée, si la Roumanie veut être entièrement reconnue comme état civilisé européen."

In 1885 Mr David F. Schloss published, through Mr Nutt, in the *Strand*, "A Detailed Account, compiled from recent official and other authentic information," of "The Persecution of the Jews in Roumania." In this penny leaflet Mr Schloss starts from the unassailable proposition that the disabilities of the Jews in Roumania constituted (and constitute) "a direct defiance of both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin; and that the English Government possesses, if it chooses to exercise it, the fullest right to interfere, by protest or otherwise, for their removal." The legal point is this: Article 7 of the Roumanian Constitution (even as amended by the Roumanian Assembly in 1879) did not, and does not, comply with the requirements of the Signatory Powers, as expressed in Articles 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Berlin. The appeal to common humanity was

stated by Mr D. F. Schloss in the following terms :—

“ To sum up the whole case, we may say briefly this: that the Roumanians treat the Jewish subjects of Roumania as outlaws, entitled to none of the rights, civil or political, of citizens; that the Roumanians have, by forbidding the Jews to engage in nearly every trade and profession, and by imposing the most vexatious restrictions upon the exercise by Jews of the few insignificant industries still left open to them, made it impossible for them to earn a livelihood; have in very many places expelled the Jewish inhabitants from their homes; have, by incessant acts of petty persecution, made the life of the Roumanian Jew a burden to him; and have done everything in their power to drive the Jews out of the country. . . . If the nations of Western Europe do not deem the wrongs and sufferings of oppressed humanity a sufficient ground for their interference, they may still, perhaps, be convinced that their own dignity is compromised when a condition imposed by themselves is violated openly and with impunity.”

In 1893 Mr Arthur Cohen, K.C., then President of the Jewish Board of Deputies, and the late Right Hon. Sir Julian Goldsmid, then President of the Anglo-Jewish Association, jointly signed a letter to Lord Rosebery at the Foreign Office, which concluded as follows :—

“ The Roumanian Government have hitherto

contrived, by specious promises and hollow assurances, and by an utterly illusory Naturalisation Act, to evade the performance of the provisions of Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin. . . . The Jews have waited with exemplary patience for their performance. Instead, however, of being endowed with the rights promised them, they have had fresh disabilities imposed upon them which have made their lives a burden. We venture to submit that the time has now arrived when Roumania should be required to fulfil the engagements which she contracted with the Great Powers. We cannot believe that Great Britain, as one of these Powers, is prepared to abandon the principle of Civil and Religious Liberty."

Lord Rosebery, in reply, transmitted a copy of a report from her late Majesty's Minister at Bucharest, which affirmed the views of the Roumanian Government, well known to the petitioners, and described by them as evasive, hollow, specious, and illusory.

All this is not ancient history. In 1901 Messrs Macmillan published in French a work by M. Edmond Simeons, entitled "*Les Juifs en Roumanie depuis le Traité de Berlin jusqu'à ce jour. Les Lois et leurs Conséquences.*" It is a weighty arraignment of facts, incontrovertible in themselves, and temperately stated, displaying "*la situation intolérable qui a été faite aux Juifs roumains par ce même traité qui devait pour toujours assurer leur bonheur.*" Less

valuable, but not to be overlooked, is the pamphlet (dated February 1902) of M. Bernard Lazare, a French publicist, on "L'Oppression des Juifs dans l'Europe Orientale: Les Juifs en Roumanie." For to-day, in 1902, this burning question of thirty years ago is once more ardently urged on the attention of the Seven Powers. Lord Meath has pleaded the cause in the *Times*, and Mr Dicey and Mr Montefiore in the *Spectator*; the *Times* correspondent in Vienna telegraphed on June 6:—

"The Jews, who constitute about four per cent. of the population, . . . are practically excluded from most of the opportunities of earning a livelihood enjoyed by the Christian population. . . . Independently of the Treaty of Berlin, it is on the ground of pure humanity, and in order that Roumania may not forfeit her good reputation, that the disabilities of the Jews must be abolished, whatever temporary drawbacks such a course may be alleged to entail, and however reluctant the reactionary and Chauvinist element may be to adopt one of the essential principles of modern government —namely, the equality of all citizens before the law."

Finally, in June 1902, there was started in Great Britain the issue of *The Roumanian Bulletin*, as an irregular medium for the information of the Press. This step was taken in consequence of the last and the worst of the restrictive laws in Roumania (March 1902),

which prohibited the employment of Jewish working-men in any trade or calling; and quite recently an incisive pamphlet has been published by Messrs William Clowes & Sons, entitled *Roumanian Finance: Facts and Figures for the Holders of Roumanian Bonds*, which strikes at the moral conscience of Roumania through the more sensitive organ of her purse. Our last quotation in this record of a thirty years' war against false dealing and persecution shall be from *Roumanian Finance*:<sup>1</sup>

"From whatever point of view things are considered, there is only one conclusion to be drawn: Roumania has exhausted her credit abroad, and yet a catastrophe is unavoidable if she does not call in outside assistance. This will undoubtedly be granted if the country gives sufficient guarantees that her policy will in future be more prudent, and her financial management more economical and honest. Guarantees will have to be given to this effect. The economic policy of the country will have to be put as much as possible beyond the reach of party interests, and instead of discouraging foreign enterprise and putting fetters on labour, the productiveness of the country will have to be increased. It is a difficult undertaking, to be

<sup>1</sup> A reply has since been published in the shape of another anonymous pamphlet, called *Attacks on Roumanian Finance*. In this reply, the "scathing and deprecatory criticism of the present Premier and Minister of Finance" is described with a show of reason, as, "to say the least, premature after a term of office of barely one year."

carried out only in the course of years, but it is by no means impossible, if the true patriots are only successful in restraining the national Chauvinism. In this respect the true interest of the country coincides with the interests of her foreign creditors and her political friends. . . . Should this hope not be realised, then the public in Western Europe will certainly refuse to lend Roumania any money. Capitalists will no longer allow themselves to be blinded by budget estimates and by artificial arrangements of revenue and expenditure. . . . Only when Roumania is successful in regaining, by her policy, the confidence of her creditors, and in bringing about a total change in the public opinion of Western Europe, can the country be saved from violent shocks, and the holders of Roumanian bonds be guarded against heavy losses."

It is at this point, if diplomacy is powerless and humanity indifferent, that the Jews of Western Europe will find their pretext to interfere.

Several conclusions ensue. First, Jewish suffering in the East is a real and a serious evil. If further evidence be sought, let the reader consult Sincerus on Roumania, or Professor Errera on "The Russian Jews" (D. Nutt, 1894), or Professor Mandelstamm's leaflet entitled *How Jews Live: A Side-light on Alien Immigration* (Greenberg & Co., Chancery Lane). We need not elaborate that aspect. Secondly, it is important to note how persistent and un-

selfish have been the efforts of Western Jews to relieve the oppression of their co-religionists. There has been no attempt to shirk that duty, no Capua in English Jewry. But, thirdly, and more to the purpose of the argument maintained in this essay, thoughtful Jews in Western Europe have recognised quite clearly that the one true basis of improvement must be an improvement from inside. There may have been spasmodic experiments at expatriation and resettlement; despairing Zionists in places may have urged the remedy of flight. But the strenuousness, the consistency, the moral purpose have been throughout in the direction of a reform of Roumanian opinion. All that can be done to hasten that reform Western Jews are willing to do, at any sacrifice of time, trouble, or money. But the Roumanian Jews must remain in Roumania in order to help Roumania to become a civilised State. This is the mission of Israel in exile, the mission that British Israel has fulfilled. Here, accordingly, we discover the true solution of the Jewish question, as it presents itself to the minds of spiritual Jews, acquainted with their own past and with the lessons that it contains. This discovery justifies our long divagation to the East. For if patience under wrong, and a patient striving for the right, held the promise of no reward save patience itself, then Mr

Baron might convert them, or Mr White exclude them, or Dr Herzl lead them out. The faith that is in them would perish, the gleam that they follow would disappear. But make survival a duty, exalt character to the dignity of a trust, crown the hardships of exile with a missionary claim, and the willow-trees will break into rejoicing, and the waters of Babylon will be sweet. Time is on the side of this solution. It moves with the purpose of history.

## I

We have tried faithfully to render the ideas of the most spiritually-minded Jews as to the meaning of their dispersion, and the mission which they are set to fulfil before the arrival of the Messiah. At the same time we have tried to show how the harsh experience of Israel in exile has affected his natural character; and how, despite the ghettos and gaberdines from which he has won release, he has yet enriched the world with morality and art. Again, we saw that the emancipated Jew is as good a citizen as his neighbour, and that nothing but neighbourly hate drives him into the arms of the Zionists. As to the attitude of the public mind towards this alien population in our midst, there is a striking discrepancy of

evidence. The views of Mr Russell and Mr White may be cited in parallel columns:—

“The point which gives its chief novelty and interest to the experiment (of ‘anglicising’ the ‘alien immigrants’) is the complete absence of anti-Semitic feeling. This is one of the most striking features of the question as it presents itself in Whitechapel; it is considerably truer of the British workman than even of the richer classes. In the higher levels of society there is still, no doubt, a certain amount of racial prejudice. . . . But in the East End there is hardly a trace of this; against the Jew as a Jew there seems to be no sort of hostile feeling. The English Jew . . . is surprisingly popular. And such hostility as does exist towards the foreign element is neither racial nor religious in character.”—C. Russell, “The Jew in London,” pp. 41, 42.

“The peculiar characteristics usually associated with the Hebrew community are not religious, but racial. . . . Of the Jewish aristocrat I do not speak in this book. The advantages reaped by England from the Hebrew aristocracy, not only material but intellectual and artistic, require no comment. They are notorious. It is the presence of this class which has done most to prevent the outbreak of anti-Semitism in England, to allay impatience, and postpone action to restrict the ever-increasing horde of undesirable foreigners who are pouring into this country.” And elsewhere Mr White adds: “I should not be surprised to watch unpopularity ripen into jealousy, and even hate, among the common people.”—A. White, “The Modern Jew,” pp. 4, 5.

Here, then, plainly we have two divergent views, one of which assures us that the popularity of the Jew in Whitechapel prevents anti-Semitism in Mayfair, while the other maintains that the popularity of the Jew in Mayfair prevents anti-Semitism in Whitechapel. We may perhaps omit any further consideration of these mutually destructive opinions, and turn to the actual statistics which bear on immigration and its results.

Mr White speaks of “an ever-increasing horde of undesirable foreigners pouring into this country.” It is for the Commissioners to

decide if these epithets are well chosen. To us, at least, it seems an elementary example of begging the question, to speak of the 12,857 foreign settlers of 1900 as a "horde," to describe their increase of 793 over the grand total of 1899 as "ever-increasing," to assume without definite proof that they are all "undesirable," and to use the term "pouring" of their orderly arrival. Certainly the Board of Trade, in its Report on the immigration of 1900, concludes that, "in spite of the large influx of aliens in 1900, only London, and to a less extent Manchester, have experienced any notable increase in the numbers of the resident destitute alien class." The figures just quoted are reached by deducting the emigrant foreigners from the immigrant, a rough-and-ready, but by no means unfair method of estimating the number of fresh alien residents. We append the detailed statistics for the following year (1901-02) to illustrate the working of the sum:—

There came in from the Continent . . . .	702,555
There went out to the Continent . . . .	613,843
Excess of Continental Immigration over Emigration . . . . .	88,712
Deduct from this the excess of foreigners emigrating to places outside Europe over those emi- grating from such places . . . .	64,616
Also, seamen, who on arriving are reckoned as immigrants, but of whom there is no record when they leave as members of crews .	15,146
	—
Net increase of foreign population as a result of the passenger movement	79,762
	—
	8,950

A word is due in this place as to the subsequent history of the immigrants in East London. Lurid pictures have been drawn of their dirty and destitute condition, and for a time at least the picture is probably not untrue. But the adaptability of these people is a valuable asset to themselves, and, as we venture to think, a valuable asset too to those among whom they settle. The desire to improve is innate in a Jew; his neighbour is more often content to "muddle through" as he began. By the impartial evidence of Mr Russell, we learn of these alien immigrants that "the transformation effected by an English training is astonishing in its completeness. All the children who pass through an elementary school may be said to grow up into 'English Jews'"; and the reader who wishes to see this transformation in practice should pay a visit one day to, say, the Gravel Lane Board School, and should study the statistics of the Jewish school attendance in East London. No better corrective could be applied to the symptoms of incipient anti-Semitism.

Next, as to the Jews in general. We may be told that the presence of a Jewish community in England is not yet acutely dangerous because of the smallness of its numbers. But, as a matter of fact, the proportion of Jews to non-Jews is larger in the United Kingdom than in France, for example, where anti-Semitism,

despite its German origin, has recently assumed its most virulent shape and form. The figures, which we borrow from the "Jewish Year Book," are as follows:—

Country.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Percentage.
Great Britain . . .	179,000	41,454,573	0·43
France . . . .	86,885	38,595,500	0·22

In other words, with a total population of about forty millions in each instance, there are twice as many British Jews as French Jews; and yet anyone who followed the extraordinary course of the Dreyfus affair in France would have thought, without this evidence, that the Jews in the Republic were considerably in excess of their Romanist vilifiers. Even in smaller spheres the facts contradict the impressions. There is more talk of anti-Semitism in London than in Manchester; but to every hundred citizens of Manchester there are 4·60 Jews, to every hundred of Londoners there are only 1·58 Jews. In Holland, again, the proportion of Jews to non-Jews is as high as two per cent., nearly ten times as high as in France, and far higher than the percentages of Germany (1·04) and of the United States (1·38) respectively, where anti-Semitism, as an economic or social force,

has to be taken into account. Yet the Dutch Jews are completely free from any experience of that kind.

These comparative statistics, dull reading though they may be, are extremely significant of the hollowness of the anti-Semitic movement. Mr Arnold White begs the people of this country to take warning by the example of the French.

"Humanity," he says, "does not change its spirit in a day, a week, or a century; and we English have no right, therefore, to anticipate that when the Jews arrive at the position in Great Britain which they occupy in France to-day, the conduct of the bulk of them will be more humane, enlightened, or unselfish towards us than it has been towards the French."

The oracle is a trifle cryptic; and we fail to see why the position occupied by the Jews in France to-day should be one towards which British Jews aspire. There are twice as many Jews in England as in France; and if they are afflicting France with rods, they should be afflicting England with scorpions. But is it so? or is it the fact that the charge of inhumanity, want of enlightenment, and selfishness recoils on the nation which, with the smaller Jewish community, has yet set an example of Jew-baiting unparalleled in modern history? We give Mr White his Captain Dreyfus, whom he

# ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH QUESTION

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM AND SOME SOLUTIONS

IN the long annals of Israel the calendar is marked with red days and with black. Reddest of the red, for instance, is the glorious Fifteenth of Nissan—the spring festival of liberty—the day of the Redemption from Egypt by the hand of Moses the Deliverer. This, the earliest feast of freedom, is still religiously celebrated by the Jews with the fine old hymn of liberation :

“I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. . . . The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.”

A black day is the fateful Ninth of Ab (corresponding to a date in August), which the Jews observe as the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, chief of the guard to Nebuchadnezzar. The fast appointed for this date is

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no longer, we believe, universal in Israel, though the Jew repeats the words of Jeremiah:

“Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? . . . For death is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.”

But the nearness of the white fast in Tishri (in September or October), which is literally kept as a solemn day of fasting and atonement at the end of the penitential season, and before the week of rejoicing, has detracted a little from the severity of the ordinance for the fast of Ab. Still, it is marked with black in that curiously complicated calendar, with its sacred new year and its civil new year, its Greek astronomy and Babylonian nomenclature, its refinements of Rabbinical law, unaffrighted by Copernican astronomy, and its wonderful procession of feast-days and fast-days—Simchat Torah, Hanukah, Purim, Sebuyot—names that have been music in the ears of countless generations of Israelites, in Zion and in exile, and that come home to them to-day—come verily to their homes—with so intimate a thrill.

Time has added to the record. February the 4th, for instance, is marked in the calendar of English Jews as Resettlement Day—the supposed anniversary of Cromwell’s

repeal of the prohibition in 1655; and two hundred years later we come to July the 26th, 1858, when Baron Rothschild took his seat in the House of Commons. It had required nearly six centuries for this victory of tolerance after the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. But the mediæval additions to the Jewish calendar consist, for the most part, of days marked with black. The index to Graetz, in the last volume of his "History of the Jews," is eloquent at this point. There are twenty references to Jewish expulsions from European countries, ranging from the eleventh century right down to the eighteenth; and besides these, there is the black list of Jewish massacre and persecution: "Jews massacred in Alsace," "Jews massacred in Alexandria," "Jews massacred in France," "Jews massacred in Germany," four times in a hundred years, "Jews massacred in Poland," "in London," "in Norwich," "in Spain," "Jews oppressed in North Africa," "Jews persecuted in Brandenburg"—up and down the Jewish year these entries, and entries like these, commemorate in a line of cold print the unspeakable agony and suffering of the long-drawn-out Middle Ages.

Time is still adding to the record. The last day marked with black in the almanac of Israel is perhaps the blackest of all because it comes so late in his annals. At the end of the

nineteenth century, which Mr Gladstone in his hasty way described as an era of emancipation, the Jews might surely have expected that active persecution would cease, and that they would be free to devote themselves to the work of conquering and correcting the passive forces of prejudice and dislike. Yet, according to the contributor of the admirable article "Anti-Semitism" in the first volume of the new "Jewish Encyclopædia,"<sup>1</sup> the birthday of that movement and its father are both of very recent memory. There was a dissolution of the German Imperial Diet in the late summer of 1878, shortly after Hödel's attempt on the life of the old Emperor William. This event was represented as the work of Socialists, and Socialism is notoriously atheistic. The Social Democrats of the Fatherland are the leaders of the revolt against conventional religion. Here, then, the party wire-pullers found a unique opportunity. The general election of July the 30th, 1878, brought an increase of Conservative members; and "this," continues the writer of the article, "may be considered the birthday of anti - Semitism." Later on in the same paragraph we learn that Adolf Stöcker, the Court chaplain, was the author of the cry. The Emperor has since had good cause to rid himself of this

<sup>1</sup> New York: Funk & Wagnal.

turbulent priest. Stöcker has been unfrocked, and the broadcloth Socialism, which his preachments established, is no longer an engine of much political force. But the mischief was done. Stöcker's influence went to found the party of Christian Socialists, which was to "win the masses of the people to the Conservative programme" by a judicious admixture of socialistic ingredients.

Or take the similar account of the matter from the first supplementary volume to the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" :—

"Anti-Semitism," declares the writer, "is, then, exclusively a question of European politics, and its origin is to be found not in the long struggle between Europe and Asia, or between the Church and the Synagogue, which filled so much of ancient and medieval history, but in the social conditions resulting from the emancipation of the Jews in the middle of the 19th century. . . . Towards the end of 1879 it spread with sudden fury over the whole of Germany. This outburst, at a moment when no new financial scandals or other illustrations of Semitic demoralisation and domination were before the public, has never been fully explained. It is impossible to doubt, however, that the secret springs of the new agitation were more or less directly supplied by Prince Bismarck himself. . . . He began to recognise in anti-Semitism a means of 'dishing' the Judaized liberals, and to his creatures who assisted him in his press campaigns he dropped significant hints in this sense (*Busch, Bismarck*, ii. 453-54; iii. 16).

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He even spoke of a new *Kulturkampf* against the Jews (*ibid.*, ii. p. 484). How these hints were acted upon has not been revealed, but it is sufficiently instructive to note that the final breach with the National Liberals took place in July, 1879, and that it was immediately followed by a violent revival of the anti-Semitic agitation. . . . In October an anti-Semitic league was founded in Berlin and Dresden. . . . The leadership of the agitation was now definitely assumed by a man who combined with social influence, oratorical power, and inexhaustible energy, a definite scheme of social regeneration and an organisation for carrying it out. This man was Adolf Stoecker (born 1835), one of the Court Preachers. . . . The Conservatives supported him, partly to satisfy their old grudges against the Liberal *bourgeoisie*, and partly because Christian Socialism, with its anti-Semitic appeal to ignorant prejudice, was likely to weaken the hold of the Social Democrats on the lower classes."

To the black days, accordingly, in the memorial calendar of Israel, July the 30th, 1878, is now indelibly added. Twenty years earlier, almost to a day, Baron Rothschild, as we have seen, had taken his seat in the British House of Commons, thus ending, for England at least, the long history of religious disability. And now the interminable cycle was renewed: anti-Semitism was born in Germany. We may minimise the movement as we will, and carefully discriminate between anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism, between Stöcker's propaganda of

Christian Socialism, involving a boycott of financiers, and Torquemada's programme of Christianisation, involving the burning of heretics; yet the fact remains that at the opening of the twentieth century, as at the opening of the sixteenth, there is antagonism towards the Jews, varying locally in its degree of intensity, from the active, legislative persecution in Roumania, to the Commission on Alien Immigration, demanded by the conditions in this country. From the extreme south-east to the extreme north-west of Europe, the path of religious liberty is crossed by that shadow. In the careful words of the editor of "The Jewish Year Book":

"The dawn of the twentieth century finds the Jews in many countries groaning under disabilities . . . which seem to mock at all ideas of human progress. As one reads of them, one almost fancies that time must have moved backward instead of forward. . . . For the unpleasant truth is forced upon us that a large portion of Europe is still plunged in the darkness of the Middle Ages."

Why is this? Why are the Jews, who still worship the God of their fathers, subject to this terrible fate? Why, when they have been released from their religious ghetto, are they thrust back into a ghetto of racial segregation? Why, when they have hardly relaxed the rigour of their fast for Zion, are synagogues fired to-day

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by riotous crowds in Germany, Algeria, and elsewhere? Why, when they still observe the day of emancipation from Pharaoh, has a new Moses arisen with the same promise as of old, to lead them out of the house of bondage into a land flowing with milk and honey, as in the new Zionism, with Dr Herzl as its prophet?

The authorities lend us scant aid in answering these questions. The non-Jewish writers on the subject, whose books we have examined for the purpose, seem to lack both breadth and precision of view. Three such books lie before us. Something, doubtless, must be allowed for the apostolic preoccupation of Mr Baron, author of "*The Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew*,"<sup>1</sup> who unctuously commends his volume, "the result of spare moments saved in a very busy life of service for Christ among His own nation, to Him who condescends to bless the things that are weak and small," and who writes that the Jewish question "is fast becoming an international one." "To the Bible student," he avers, "with the key of the future in his hand, it is very interesting to watch some of the more recent phases in the development of this question," and to observe how "the great God is, in His providence, now rapidly preparing the way for its final and only possible solution." What

<sup>1</sup> Hodder & Stoughton, 1900.

this solution is to be is explained with chorybantic touches on page 179 :—

“Jesus is the Way: ‘No man cometh to the Father but by Me.’ There is no other way. Jesus is *the Truth*, the full and whole truth of God: ‘The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.’ And Jesus is *Life*: ‘This is life eternal that they might know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.’ Although the Jews have the law, they cannot come to God, because Jesus is the Way. Although they have the Old Testament, they do not know the truth, because Jesus is *the Truth and Life!* Until we come to see Jesus, until we come to the atonement He made for us, until we come to know the ‘Lamb of God,’ we do not know God the Father. Yes, there are sighs; there are misgivings; there are fears; there are mournings; there are longings in the human heart towards God—but adoption and true spiritual life there is none, where Christ has not kindled it. *Israel in its present state, the Christless Israel, shows this to the whole world.* Notwithstanding the great activity and energy of the religious life of the Jews, they have—we say it with great sorrow—no life indeed—what they have is all carnal—and this accounts for the phenomena that they have not been of much spiritual use to the world since Christ’s coming. *In Christ alone will Israel live again and be a blessing to the world.*”

The “final and only possible solution” is postponed, it will be observed, to a somewhat indefinite date, and, leaving Mr Baron on his

watch-tower, we turn for counsel to Mr Arnold White. It was his lofty purpose, he tells us, in publishing "The Modern Jew,"<sup>1</sup> "to make the people of England think." They are to think to the following effect:—

"England," he writes, "is in this dilemma: she is either compelled to abandon her secular practice of complacent acceptance of every human being choosing to settle on these shores, or to face the certainty of the Jews becoming stronger, richer, and vastly more numerous; with the corresponding certainty of the Press being captured as it has been captured on the Continent, and the national life stifled by the substitution of material aims for those which, however faultily, have formed the unselfish and imperial objects of the Englishmen who have made the Empire. . . . The conclusion, therefore, seems obvious, that either the situation must be dealt with, *i.e.* by Europe as a whole, or an alarming outbreak against the race, the members of which are always in exile and strangers in the land of their adoption, will result, and the clock of civilisation will thus be thrown back for a hundred years. . . . The Jewish question, however difficult, is not insoluble."

Here, again, a solution is held possible, and at a date not quite as remote as that selected by Mr Baron. But Mr White reaches his conclusion through a series of premisses which cannot be accepted without demur. The contingencies which he states as certainties, by

<sup>1</sup> Heineman & Co., 1899.

a common rhetorical device, are, if not fallacious, at least open to argument. Will Jews become "stronger, richer, and vastly more numerous"? Have they "captured the Press on the Continent"? Is the British Press likely to be captured? Do Jews "stifle national life" by introducing "material aims"? And were "the Englishmen who have made the Empire" moved by "unselfish and imperial objects"? Mr White himself, in another journalistic capacity, has something different to say at this point. And all these points, it is to be noted, when it comes to an attack on the Jews, are chosen as unassailable first truths.

Next, we pass from the special pleader to a book vouched for by the Toynbee Hall mark. Mr James Bryce, who contributes the preface to "*The Jew in London*,"<sup>1</sup> states that one of its authors, "though fair and even friendly, has no special personal ground of sympathy with the Jewish race or religion," and that the other, though a Jew, is "sufficiently detached and independent to perceive the defects of his nation [race ?], and sufficiently candid to admit these defects." And the

<sup>1</sup> "*The Jew in London : A Study of Racial Character and Present-day Conditions*. Being two essays prepared for the Toynbee trustees by C. Russell, B.A., and H. S. Lewis, M.A., with an Introduction by Canon Barnett, and a Preface by the Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P. With a new Map by Geo. E. Arkell." Fisher Unwin, 1900.

claim to impartiality, which Mr Bryce advances for the volume, is repeated by Canon Barnett, who states in his introduction that "the object of these essays is to assist their readers to a right answer, and therefore to a right policy." The reader may pray with Mr Baron, or he may curse with Mr White; to what emotional or intellectual exercise, we wonder, do the Toynbee essayists invite him, in the solution of the Jewish question and the discovery of the "right answer."

"The Whitechapel problem," declares Mr Russell, "turns out to be European in scope, and it is not much less bewildering in its inner complexity than in the immense range over which it spreads itself. Besides being part of a larger question, it contains a multitude of smaller ones, and opens up a field of inquiry in which racial, industrial, and religious questions are bound up with one another and refuse to be dissociated."

After this exordium, which rather takes away the breath, his conclusion reads a trifle tamely:

"There is only the choice of going forward or backward. . . . Reform and Zionism are the broad alternatives. . . . It is easy to understand the antipathy which the great body of Jews naturally feel towards the prospect of assimilation. They have too much pride of race to relish the idea of complete absorption. But (at least from the Gentile standpoint) it is no less hard to see the

justification than the practicability of a policy of continued separatism. There is doubtless a loss in every departure from historic traditions; but if these traditions have outlived their value and purpose, or even acquired a mischievous tendency, the loss may be more than counterbalanced. It is pitiful also, no doubt, to witness the decay of a religion which has gone far in many lives to transfigure, or at least to render tolerable, the harsh conditions of slum life. . . . On the whole, if the gains and losses of assimilation could be reckoned against one another, there seems little doubt on which side the balance would be found."

Starting from different points, and aiming at different goals, our authors accordingly agree that the Jewish question is international, to be solved by a concert of the Powers acting on the watchword of "Aut disce aut discede!" The Jews are to disappear—by religious conversion, according to Mr Baron; by legislative exclusion, according to Mr White; by social assimilation, according to Mr Russell. But go they must, if England is to be saved.

## CHAPTER II

### ZIONISM AS A SOLUTION

IT is remarkable that a section of the Jews has reached the same conclusion by a different road. In the eyes of non-Jewish writers, whom we need not pursue through the viler alleys of anti-Semitism, the "problem" is that the Jews are at once too rich and too poor. In Jewish eyes, the problem is how to escape persecution. It is just twenty years ago, in September 1882, that an anonymous pamphlet (by Dr Leon Pinsker), since translated into English under the title of "Self-Emancipation," as No. 1 of the "Jewish National Series," laid down as a first principle of faith and practice :—

"The international Jewish question must undergo a national solution. Our national regeneration can take place, of course, only very slowly. But *we* must take the *first* step, and our successors will have to follow. . . . The national regeneration of the Jews must be initiated by a congress of Jewish notables. . . . As matters stand, the financial execution of the undertaking does not present unsurmountable difficulties."

Thus the disappearance of the Jews was urged on themselves by themselves. To the solutions of the "international problem" offered by Mr Baron, Mr White, and Mr Russell, we have now to add that of Dr Pinsker—the solution of Zionism, or the nationalisation of the Jews.

The present leader of this movement, and President of the Zionist Congress, is Dr Theodor Herzl, whose monograph, "A Jewish State: an Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question," has likewise been translated (David Nutt, 1896, 1s.), and has the further advantage of being fourteen years later than Dr Pinsker's.

Dr Herzl was a journalist in Vienna at the time of the Lueger municipality. He is now the accepted leader of the movement known as Zionism; and at the annual Zionist Congress this redoubtable Moses from the Press-club rekindles the prophetic fire which shone on the face of the Deliverer. His original manifesto proposed to found the Jewish State in Western Asia or South America. Since then he has selected Palestine, as being the ancient home of the Jews, and possessing a glamour to attract the ignorant victims of Continental hate. His notion apparently is that the Sultan of Turkey will sell the province to the Jews—Dr Pinsker shared this delusion—and that the European powers will guarantee

its integrity as a fifth-rate buffer State—the wildest notion, to our thinking, which an ambitious journalist has ever based on a neglect of political facts and an indifference to religious belief. For the Herzl variant of Zionism, though it successfully deludes a heterogeneous crowd of foreign enthusiasts, is an unfortunate compromise between two quite opposite ideas.

The restoration of the Jews to the land of their old independence may occur in one of two ways. It may be by the concerted act of the Governments of the countries of their dispersion, devised as a measure of self-protection against the spread of the Jews; or by the fulfilment of prophecy when the Jewish mission is complete. The first is the creed of good anti-Semites, the second of orthodox Jews. The orthodox Jew recognises a divine purpose in his exile. He is where he is for some purpose. By his mere survival and patience he is serving some divine end. He is a witness and a priest, and he may not interrupt the mission of his race to save his own poor skin. But Dr Herzl's plan makes short work of the spiritual element in the new exodus of Jewry. He would force the hand of Providence. The restoration, instead of occurring as the appointed end of the dispersion, would be interpolated in the middle of it as a means of evading its obligations. This plan, which is a travesty of Judaism, is equally futile as state-

## APPENDIX.

### I.—STATISTICS OF JEWISH POPULATION.

(a) The following Table, reproduced by permission from the *Jewish Year Book*, 1902-03, furnishes at a glance the percentage of the Jewish population to the total population in the principal countries of the world. The figures should be studied in connection with the remarks on pages 62-64 above—

Country.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Percentage of Jews.
Palestine . . .	60,000	180,000	33·33
Hungary . . .	851,378	19,207,103	04·43
Russian Empire . . .	5,189,401	125,668,000	04·13
Roumania . . .	243,000	5,912,600	04·11
Austria . . .	1,143,000	26,150,597	04·80
Morocco . . .	150,000	5,000,000	03·00
Holland . . .	103,988	5,179,100	02·00
United States of America . . .	1,045,555	76,085,794	01·38
Prussia . . .	375,716	31,855,123	01·11
Germany . . .	586,948	56,867,178	01·04
Algeria . . .	44,207	4,739,331	00·93
Bulgaria . . .	28,307	3,733,189	00·76
Luxemburg . . .	1,200	236,543	00·50
Great Britain . . .	179,000	41,454,573	00·43
Persia . . .	35,000	9,000,000	00·39
Switzerland . . .	12,551	3,315,443	00·38
Australasia . . .	16,678	4,557,323	00·36
Greece . . .	8,350	2,433,806	00·34
Canada . . .	16,432	5,369,666	00·30
Egypt . . .	25,800	9,734,405	00·26
France . . .	86,885	38,595,500	00·22
New Zealand . . .	1,611	772,719	00·20
Serbia . . .	5,102	2,493,770	00·20
Denmark . . .	5,000	2,464,770	00·20
Belgium . . .	12,000	6,687,651	00·18
Italy . . .	44,037	32,449,754	00·13
Norway and Sweden . . .	5,000	7,376,321	00·07
India . . .	22,000	294,266,701	00·07
Portugal . . .	1,200	5,428,659	00·02
Spain . . .	2,500	18,089,500	00·01

## APPENDIX I.

STATISTICS OF JEWISH POPULATION—*Continued.*

(b) A similar Table has been worked out in order to furnish the percentage of the Jewish population to the total population in the principal cities of the world. These figures are in some respects more important than those in the last Table. The Jews tend to city life by habit and taste, as well as by the necessity imposed by their dietary laws and by the facilities of public worship—

City.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Percentage of Jews.
Botosani . . . .	25,000	35,000	71·43
Jassy . . . .	45,000	78,067	57·69
Odessa . . . .	120,000	209,085	57·14
Salonica . . . .	60,000	105,000	57·14
Lomza . . . .	14,000	26,075	53·84
Cracow . . . .	45,000	91,823	49·28
Jerusalem . . . .	23,000	50,000	46·00
Mogador . . . .	8,676	19,000	45·66
Minsk . . . .	40,000	91,494	43·71
Tangier . . . .	12,000	30,000	40·00
Kovno . . . .	28,000	75,543	37·06
Warsaw . . . .	255,160	712,000	35·82
Wilna . . . .	50,000	154,532	29·03
Lemberg . . . .	40,000	159,875	25·00
Bagdad . . . .	35,000	145,000	24·14
Budapest . . . .	168,985	732,322	23·08
Galatz . . . .	12,000	62,678	19·17
Corfu . . . .	3,500	17,918	19·00
Adrianople . . . .	15,000	81,000	18·52
Bucharest . . . .	40,000	282,071	14·11
Amsterdam . . . .	56,000	520,602	10·76
New York . . . .	360,000	3,437,202	10·59
Larissa . . . .	1,500	15,000	10·00
Prague . . . .	20,000	201,589	09·92
Johannesburg . . . .	10,000 *	102,078 *	09·80
Philippopolis . . . .	4,000	42,849	09·34
Vienna . . . .	150,000	1,674,957	08·95
Frankfort a/m . . . .	22,000	288,489	07·63
Gibraltar . . . .	2,000	27,640	07·30
Aden . . . .	3,000	41,222	07·28
Damascus . . . .	10,000	140,500	07·11
Kiew . . . .	15,000	247,482	06·06
Philadelphia . . . .	75,000	1,293,697	05·80

STATISTICS OF JEWISH POPULATION—*Continued.*

City.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Percentage of Jews.
Cincinnati . . . .	18,000	325,902	05·52
Mayence . . . .	4,300	84,500	05·10
Posen . . . .	5,810	117,014	05·00
Berlin . . . .	86,152	1,884,151	04·56
Constantinople . . .	50,000	1,125,000	04·44
Breslau . . . .	18,440	422,738	04·36
Leghorn . . . .	4,000	98,505	04·06
Chicago . . . .	60,000	1,698,575	03·53
Alexandria . . . .	10,000	319,766	03·13
Montreal . . . .	8,000	266,826	02·99
Hamburg . . . .	17,308	625,552	02·76
Cologne . . . .	10,000	372,229	02·68
Nuremberg . . . .	6,500	260,743	02·49
Paris . . . .	58,000	2,660,000	02·18
Königsberg . . . .	4,076	187,897	02·16
Munich . . . .	9,500	498,503	01·90
Hanover . . . .	4,151	235,666	01·76
Cairo . . . .	10,000	570,062	01·75
Rome . . . .	8,000	483,000	01·73
Antwerp . . . .	4,500	285,600	01·58
London . . . .	104,550	6,581,327	01·58
Sydney . . . .	6,000	451,000	01·33
Melbourne . . . .	5,500	493,956	01·11
Turin . . . .	5,000	335,639	01·49
Toronto . . . .	3,000	207,971	01·44
Bordeaux . . . .	3,000	257,471	01·17
Brussels . . . .	6,500	561,782	01·16
Copenhagen . . . .	3,500	313,000	01·11
Marseilles . . . .	5,500	494,769	01·11
Leipzig . . . .	4,844	455,089	01·06
Bombay . . . .	5,020	770,843	00·65
Lyons . . . .	2,636	453,145	00·58
Athens . . . .	300	111,486	00·27
St Petersburg . . . .	2,800	1,267,023	00·22
Lisbon . . . .	250	308,000	00·08
Madrid . . . .	300	498,000	00·06

## APPENDIX II.

## II.—STATISTICS OF JEWISH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

The following Tables are taken from the *Jewish Year Book* :—

## CHILDREN IN JEWISH VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, 1901-2.

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Born Abroad.	Born in England of Foreign Par'nts.	Born in England of Native Par'nts.
Jews' Free School .	2,243	1,239	...	3,482	1,108	2,079	295
Infant Schools .	...	...	1,898	1,898	387	1,411	100
Stepney Jewish .	438	296	175	909	58	443	408
Bayswater Jewish .	130	93	81	304	51	200	53
Westminster .	313	304	...	617	149	449	19
Norwood Asylum .	182	140	...	322	14	260	48
Deaf and Dumb .	23	20	...	43	16	18	9
South London .	104	78	70	252	23	86	143
Thrawl Street .	...	145	186	331	25	163	143
Hayes Industrial .	47	...	...	47	16	29	2
Total . .	3,480	2,315	2,410	8,205	1,847	5,138	1,220

## JEWISH CHILDREN in other VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, 1901-2.

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Born Abroad.	Born in England of Foreign Par'nts.	Born in England of Native Par'nts.
All Saints, Bethnal Green .	3	3	5	11	...	...	11
All Saints, Margaret Street .	2	2	13	17	6	11	...
Church St., Stoke New.	6	10	5	21	...	3	18
Davenant School, E. .	3	5	15	23	2	2	19
*Christchurch, Brick Lane .	20	37	58	115	12	73	30
Green Street, Bow .	4	4	4	12	1	9	2
Latimer Foundation, Hammersmith .	17	...	...	17	...	4	13
Carried forward .	55	61	100	216	21	102	93

\* The Jewish Religious Education Board holds (or subsidises) classes at this School.

## JEWISH CHILDREN in other VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, 1901-2.

—Continued.

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Born Abroad.	Born in England of Foreign Par'nts.	Native Par'nts.
Brought forward .	55	61	100	216	21	102	93
Mowlem Road, Cam-bridgeheath .	9	13	30	52	*	*	*
Percy Road, Hackney .	6	3	9	18	...	3	15
Raynes School, E. .	...	47	68	115	*	*	*
St Andrew's, Wells St. .	1	2	10	13	2	7	4
St Anne's, Bethnal Grn. .	12	18	9	39	15	8	16
St Anne's, Soho .	37	18	65	120	*	*	*
St Augustine's, Kilburn .	38	...	...	38	7	20	11
St Edward's, Dupon Pl. .	2	6	13	21	*	*	*
St James' & St Peter's, Westminster .	16	9	37	62	1	61	...
St Martin's, W.C. .	2	6	2	10	...	5	5
St Matthias', Bethnal Green .	22	33	80	135	37	87	11
St Patrick's, Soho .	...	2	17	19	*	*	*
St Paul's .	57	68	101	226	71	51	104
St Peter's, Notting Hill .	4	13	25	42	4	36	2
† St Stephen's, Quaker Street .	50	50	150	250	*	*	*
Summerford St., N.E. .	13	41	44	98	58	15	25
Wesleyan, Hackney .	12	13	9	34	4	...	30
Total . . .	336	403	769	1,508	220	395	316

\* No figures available.

† The Jewish Religious Education Board holds classes at this School.

## JEWISH CHILDREN IN BOARD SCHOOLS, 1901-2.

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Born Abroad.	Born in England of Foreign Par'nts.	Native Par'nts.
Addison Gardens, S.W.	13	12	5	30	10	14	6
† Arbery Road, Bow .	16	13	22	51	2	9	40
† Baker Street, E.	285	273	398	956	311	635	10
Ben Jonson, Harford St.	59	72	72	203	*	*	*
Berger Road, Hackney	20	26	7	53	*	*	*
† Berner Street, E.	329	375	504	1,208	284	801	123
Bessboro' Road, Manor Park .	39	24	29	92	8	68	16
Betts St., Commercial Road .	141	172	285	598	277	310	11
Bonner Street, Bethnal Green .	5	3	10	18	2	12	4
Broad Street, Ratcliff .	1	5	10	16	2	3	11
Buckingham Terrace .	9	10	46	65	...	61	4
Buck's Row, E.	200	231	283	714	111	524	79
Canterbury Road, S.E.	4	2	4	10	...	10	...
Chatham Gardens, Hackney .	16	19	44	79	6	50	23
Charing Cross Road .	5	5	27	37	*	*	*
† Chicksand Street, E.	409	389	659	1,457	400	900	157
Christian Street, Commercial Road .	284	318	314	916	736	161	19
Cleveland Road, Ilford .	5	1	4	10	2	5	3
Columbia Rd., Hackney	19	20	24	63	1	51	12
Commercial Street, E.	252	286	261	799	403	290	106
Curtain Rd., Shoreditch	14	15	34	63	*	*	*
† Deal Street, E.	340	341	394	1,075	316	703	56
Dempsey Street, E.	5	11	83	99	16	27	56
Eleanor Rd., Hackney	46	34	59	139	2	127	...
Enfield Road, Hackney	20	26	7	53	*	*	*
Essex Street, E.	28	30	27	85	22	37	26
Fox St., Notting Hill	8	2	7	17	...	9	8
† Gravel Lane, E.	386	341	478	1,205	142	465	598
Hague Street, Bethnal Green .	6	...	4	10	1	5	4
† Hanbury Street, E.	250	258	...	508	174	297	37
Highbury (Higher Grade)	40	60	255	355	133	125	97
Hindle Street, Hackney	32	33	25	90	7	27	56
Kensington Avenue, Manor Park .	10	4	14	28	6	18	4
London Fields, N.E. .	34	36	39	109	6	90	13
Carried forward .	3330	3447	4434	11,211	3380	5834	1579

\* No figures available.

† The Jewish Religious Education Board holds classes in this School.

JEWISH CHILDREN IN BOARD SCHOOLS, 1901-2.—*Continued.*

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Born Abroad	Born in England of Foreign Par'nts.	Native Par'nts.
Brought forward . . .	3330	3447	4434	11,211	3380	5834	1579
†Lower Chapman St., E.	188	233	268	689	283	276	130
Malmesbury Road, E. . .	70	...	...	70	6	10	54
Manor Park . . .	12	15	11	38	3	18	17
Mansford St., Hackney .	13	23	16	52	10	28	14
Marmont Rd., Peckham .	2	3	5	10	1	1	8
Millfields Rd., Clapton .	4	10	16	30	*	*	*
† Old Castle Street, E. .	448	372	...	820	93	487	240
Orchard St., Hackney. .	2	2	7	11	...	5	6
† Peter Street, Soho . .	31	42	208	281	*	*	*
Philpot Street, E. . .	81	134	...	215	92	163	52
Queen's Rd., Dalston . .	7	9	2	18	8	5	5
Redvers St., Hoxton . .	9	19	28	56	1	28	27
Rendlesham Rd., Clap- ton . . .	2	9	40	51	*	*	*
Rochelle Street, E. . .	48	68	180	296	*	*	*
Rushmore Rd., Hack- ney . . .	3	11	6	20	...	10	10
† Rutland Street . . .	372	176	60	608	55	442	111
St John's School, N.E.	17	15	32	64	*	*	*
Sandringham Road, Manorpark . . .	7	10	4	21	...	5	16
Scawfell St., Hackney Road . . .	11	13	22	46	5	39	2
Scruton St., Shoreditch .	11	14	14	39	...	10	29
† Settles Street, E. . .	468	459	563	1,490	258	1,032	200
Sharp St., Kingsland Rd. ...	...	9	3	12	*	*	*
Sigdon Rd., Hackney . .	65	101	120	286	*	*	*
Smith St., Mile End . .	133	154	275	562	*	*	*
Swan Street, City . . .	45	60	71	176	22	78	76
Teesdale St., Bethnal Gn.	2	3	9	14	1	5	8
Titchfield St., Soho . .	5	6	28	39	*	*	*
Trafalgar Square, E. .	80	103	216	399	*	*	*
Tottenham Rd., Ball's Pond . . .	7	2	2	11	...	6	5
Vallance Rd., Bethnal Gn.	...	...	542	542	45	185	312
Virginia Rd., Shoreditch .	25	31	129	185	*	*	*
William St., Chelsea . .	7	8	11	26	1	17	8
Wilmot St., Bethnal Gn. † Wood Cl., Bethnal Gn.	2	5	9	16	*	*	*
	67	75	134	276	*	*	*
Total Board . . .	5,574	5,641	7,465	18,680	4264	8684	2909
Total Jewish Voluntary .	3,480	2,315	2,410	8,205	1,847	5,138	1,220
Total Other Voluntary .	336	403	769	1,508	*	*	*
Grand Total . . .	9,390	8,359	10,644	28,393	6111	13,822	4129

\* No figures available.

† The Jewish Religious Education Board holds classes at this School.

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